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Speeches, New Horizons for the Americas

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NEW HORIZONS FOR THE AMERICAS

HOLD FOR RELEASE
MON AUG 8 1960 PM

Administration's New Aid-Program for Latin America

It has been reported in the press that the Administration intends to ask Congress during this session to provide \$500 million in special aid for Latin America. There is no doubt of the need for some new action with respect to ^{that area} ~~Latin America~~. Goodwill mission after goodwill mission to Latin America during the past decade has come back talking of little else. Ideas along these lines have been expressed in Congress and by leading statesmen throughout the hemisphere.

The question is not one of need. The question is whether the Administration's program, as reported, meets the need. And further, the question is whether it is appropriate at this moment to bring forth a new plan of aid to Latin America.

If we may judge from the press reports, Congress is going to be asked to approve some kind of blanket authority for the Administration to make available \$500 million for Latin America. The reports do not indicate that a new approach to aid is to be anticipated. The reports suggest merely more of the same sort of thing which we have been doing all over the world for the past decade under the Mutual Security Program.

Is this the sort of action that is needed? Will it bring about an end to the steady erosion in hemispheric relations? Quite the contrary, Mr. President, I believe that this new gesture in the old pattern, particularly at

this time, may cause further damage to those relations.

Integrated Economic Action Needed

What is needed, what has long been needed in inter-American relations is an integrated effort to develop this hemisphere's great resources for the benefit of all of its peoples. It seems to me that we require, first, a reasonable meeting of minds in the Americas as to what needs to be done and how it can be done. We require a specific understanding with the other American nations which will make clear how much is to be spent over how many years, in what very specific ways and for what very specific, measurable ends. We need a plan that involves more than U. S. grants. We need a plan that is financed by all the participating republics in this hemisphere in rough proportion to their capabilities and, may I add, that if some nations cannot contribute cash to the pool, they can certainly contribute skills, commodities, and labor. We need a plan, most of all, which involves a large measure of initiative on the part of individual governments in mobilizing the enthusiasm, cooperation, and sacrifice of their own peoples. The approach should include, if we would deal with the need in its full dimensions, not merely financial and technical aid, but action on inter-American commodity and trade problems. And in this connection, I should like to suggest that the approach should not omit consideration of the possibilities of a hemispheric common market. As the Senate knows, Central American nations have been moving towards a regional trade grouping. So, too, have some of the largest of the South American states and Mexico. Before the hemisphere is split

further into regions within regions, it would be wise to consider action which brings all the American nations together for marketing and other economic purposes in common.

I could be misinformed, Mr. President; it may be that this is the type of program which the Administration expects to present to the Congress in the near future. I hope that such is the case. If it is, I am confident that the Senate will be disposed to give it the most careful consideration.

Timing of New Aid-Program

I should still be compelled, however, to question the timing, if a new aid-program, however impressive it may be, is presented for action during the few remaining days of the 86th Congress. It is no secret, after all, that we are engaged in a serious and bitter dispute with Cuba at this time. It is no secret that this dispute is to be aired with the other American republics in the Organization of the American States which is to meet within a matter of days in Costa Rica.

I am sure ^{*I am positive,*} that the Administration had no desire to tie together the two matters -- that is, a new aid-program for Latin America and this dispute. But it amazes me that the Administration would permit this coincidence to occur.

We must ask ourselves, in all honesty, how does this coincidence look to the rest of the Hemisphere? I am afraid, Mr. President, that it looks very bad. It looks like a callous attempt to purchase favor in Latin

America at a time when we are especially desirous of obtaining it. If we are honest with ourselves, we will recognize that the announcement coming at this time produces an erroneous impression. It suggests that dollars are being dangled before Latin America in the same manner that the Russians of late have been waving rubles before Cuba. Is that impression in keeping with the dignity of this nation? With the dignity of the other American republics?

The need for action on hemispheric development stands on its own.
So, too, does the need for a settlement of the dispute with Cuba. We must act on both but we must act in a fashion which makes it clear that we do not link them -- the two matters -- in any fashion.

Suitable Congressional Action

To keep these questions separate and distinct, I would strongly urge the Administration not to try to ram through an aid-program for Latin America of a specified amount during the few remaining days of this Congress. If the Administration feels it would be useful, I can see no objection to a resolution which would put this Congress on record -- in the manner of the Vandenberg Resolution some years ago -- as backing fully a common effort with other American nations of the kind I have just described. I should, personally, be happy to join in sponsoring such a resolution. Then, let the spokesmen of this Administration go to the scheduled meeting of Hemispheric Economic Ministers in Bogota in September equipped with new specific proposals. Let them go prepared to listen with new attention

to old ideas such as those advanced by President Juscelino Kubitschek of Brazil in his proposed Operation Pan America, to the ideas of Premier Pedro Beltran of Peru, and of other distinguished Latin American leaders. Let them hammer out, in concert, over the next few months, the integrated approach which is needed to replace the tattered pattern of more unilateral technical aid as usual, more unilateral loans as usual, more unilateral grants as usual. Let them put together a plan which will lift the sights of all the Americas to a new concept of hemispheric cooperation. ^{Let them Look Toward New HORIZONS.} If that is done, if American participation is equitable and just and, if it is adequately explained to the people of the United States, I would anticipate that the next Congress will be prepared to cooperate fully with the new Administration in its realization. ^{insert} In that fashion too, Mr. President, I believe we can avoid any confusion of the new aid-undertaking with the United States-Cuban dispute which should be faced on its own merits in the Organization of the American States.

The Cuban Dispute

As for that dispute, there are some matters of which we need to speak frankly and honestly at this time. The dispute cannot be swept away. Its implications will not disappear by beating the drums for a new aid-program. On the contrary, unless this dispute is faced and solved it may well nullify any effort for the economic advance of the hemisphere.

If we are to deal with this dispute in the only context in which solution now seems possible, that is, in the larger context of inter-Americanism, we will have to recognize that the attitudes of many Latin Americans will invariably include a measure of sympathy for Cuba and its revolution, regardless of sentiments respecting its present government, regardless of the facts of the dispute. There are complex historical roots for these attitudes and they will not change overnight. We must anticipate that voices will be raised in the Latin American countries, as was the case recently in Mexico, in emotional support of Cuba. But that ought to be a cause neither for alarm nor condemnation in Mexico or the United States. One must question the wisdom of the Administration in calling in the Mexican Ambassador some weeks ago to explain a speech of this kind in the Mexican Congress. After all, it is customary for members of this body and the other House to express their feelings, emotions and thoughts on Cuba and on other matters in no uncertain terms. And I am sure we would not look kindly on the summoning of our Ambassadors by other governments to justify remarks whenever they are made. We can hardly censure in others what we extoll as a virtue in ourselves.

I am confident that if we exercise restraint with respect to the emotional attitudes which the Cuban dispute has engendered, we can anticipate that the issues of the dispute will be considered by the O. A. S. on their merits. They will be considered with objectivity and with full attention to the larger interests of the Hemisphere.

By the same token, I do not believe that the Administration in its approach to this dispute ought to be confused by the loudest and most emotional voices here at home. I do not and cannot believe there is any widespread desire in this nation to throw away the remaining fruits of the Good Neighbor policy by a unilateral military intervention in Cuba. This Administration is to be complimented for making it clear, as Secretary Herter did in a recent press conference, that he had "never talked with the President about military intervention in Cuba", nor had the Department "made any such plans or preparations". What is at stake is larger than Cuba and Castro and any hot feelings in our own midst however noble and righteous they may seem to those who are possessed by them. What is at stake is hemispheric solidarity and that measure of peace and reasonable security and the highly fruitful commercial and other contacts which this solidarity has yielded over the years.

If the national attitude of this country could be expressed on Cuba, I daresay that it would be less one of militant hostility than one of incredulity and dismay that relations have deteriorated to their current unhappy state. Further, there would be indignation at the incomprehensible calumny which has been heaped upon us. Finally, there would be a firmness which I am sure is shared by other American states that the Soviet Union shall not fish in the troubled waters of the Caribbean or meddle in the family affairs of the Americas, or un-nerve us by waving its missiles.

U.S. Position in the O.A.S. on Cuban Dispute

It is a little late now to retrace events to the particular stones on which United States-Cuban relations have stumbled. Mistakes have been made and they have been made on both sides. We have tried on a bilateral basis to set these relations straight and we have not succeeded. The dispute has come before the United Nations and that body has wisely referred the matter to the Organization of the American States. In short, the U.N. has placed great trust and responsibility on the Americas to meet an American problem. The nations of the Hemisphere can perform a great service by isolating the basic issues between Cuba and this nation, by soberly considering these issues, and by acting to meet them.

It seems to me that this nation ought to bring to the impending consideration of the dispute more than mere justifications for its present firm attitude with regard to Cuba. That attitude needs no justification in view of the hostility of the government in Havana. What is needed is a clear position which illuminates what it is, specifically, that we deplore and what it is that we seek in our relations with Cuba.

If we are to have that kind of position we must go beneath the angry words. We must start with a recognition that the revolution of the Cuban people was not only unavoidable but to be welcomed, given the oppression to which they had been subjected by the previous regime. Indeed, at the United Nations, Ambassador Lodge has stated the position

of the United States and the only official position on this matter most clearly when he noted the "understanding" and "sympathy" of the United States for the aims of the Cuban revolution.

We must recognize, further, that the promise of the Cuban revolution was change and that our own citizens and other outsiders with significant interests in Cuba can hardly be insulated from that change. Mr. Lodge has set forth the official views of the Administration on this point. At the U.N. he quoted the President directly as recognizing the right of the Cuban government 'to undertake those social, economic and political reforms which with due regard for their obligations under international law, they think desirable". We must recognize finally that, except as the actions of the Castro government grossly outrage the conscience of the American Republics or threaten their common security, the nature of the changes in Cuba is a matter solely of concern to the Cuban people. That is the crux of national independence which the Cubans hold as dearly as do we.

It seems to me, however, that in respecting Cuba's national rights we also have a right to expect from a people for whom we have had only the friendliest sentiments a willingness to minimize the adverse repercussions of change on our citizens and to provide equitable treatment for them and their interests. We do have a right to object most vehemently to the subjection of the good name of this country to inflammable charges and slurs by the Cuban government and its spokesmen; charges and slurs which are as unnecessary as they are inaccurate

Finally, we do have a right, any American nation has a right, to bring to the attention of the O.A.S., threats to the tranquility and security of this hemisphere and to seek common action to meet them.

If these premises, Mr. President, constitute a basis for good neighborly relations, as I believe they do, then it follows that our position in the dispute with Cuba before the O.A.S. should be built around the following points:

(1) We should recognize the right of the Cuban people to make such internal changes as they desire and insist only on just, non-discriminatory treatment for our nationals and compensation for damage to their legitimate interests on terms which take into consideration Cuba's present economic and financial capacities.

(2) We should recognize Cuba's right, as a sovereign nation, to trade or otherwise deal with any nation in the world and, equally, our own right to do the same, as regards sugar or any other commodity. Equally we should make clear that we are prepared at all times to consider changes in our present economic policies, on a mutual basis, which may be of benefit to the Cuban people and to ourselves.

I believe As it is now, the O.A.S. could not do more than to condemn such a government. We suggest, later, that it ought to have the power to act against such a government

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(3) We should reiterate the doctrine of non-intervention in the national affairs of Cuba or any other American nation insofar as any unilateral action on our part is concerned and scrupulously adhere to it, and see to it that all agencies and private citizens adhere to it. But if the O.A.S. by due process concludes that the actions of any particular government outrages the conscience or threatens the tranquility and security of all the Americas, we should follow whatever course of hemispheric action the O.A.S. may prescribe by due process. It is for the Administration alone which, alone, is in possession of all the facts and has the constitutional responsibility to decide when, if at all, to ask the O.A.S. to condemn and to act against any government on these counts and to make the case in support of it.

(4) If the need arises, we should seek common hemispheric action of whatever kind and degree may be necessary to prevent the establishment of military bases by nations not of this hemisphere in any American Republic.

(5) We should welcome conciliatory efforts by the President of the Council of the O.A.S. in isolating and in finding solutions to the specific difficulties between Cuba and this nation.

Whatever the outcome of the dispute with Cuba, I think we had better face the fact that there will be no victory for one side or the other. The fact is that the dispute has already caused

Ambassador Vicente Sanchez Gaitan (who, incidentally, with his colleague, Ambassador Antonio Carrillo-Flores form one of the finest diplomatic teams in this Capital)

serious damage to Cuba, to the United States and to the Western Hemisphere. It is to be hoped, therefore, that we will begin this consideration before the O.A.S. not with a desire to win Pyrrhic debates ~~in the kitchen, the parlor or~~ on TV but, rather with a clear determination to seek a solution to the problem and with clear ideas as to what constitutes an acceptable solution to the problem. It is to be hoped further, that Cuba will do the same. And it is to be hoped, finally, that the other American states will exert every effort to bring about a solution that is just and equitable, to the end that this danger to the hemisphere may be removed.

State of Inter-American Relations and Policy

Looking beyond the Cuban dispute, Mr. President, I believe that we will do well to recognize frankly that inter-American relations are not good and they are not getting any better. Lest this observation outrage those whose political antennas in these political times may be especially sensitive, let me hasten to add that it is made without political motive. In retrospect and, in all honesty, it is clear that the schisms in inter-American relations began to appear even before this Administration took office.

Be that as it may, it does not serve the national interests to offer empty assurances now that all is right with the inter-American

world or to imply, as this recent announcement of a new aid-program does, that there is nothing wrong that cannot be cured by a fresh injection of aid-dollars.

The difficulties go deep. Insofar as they arise on our part I believe they stem from a failure to recognize and appreciate the enormous accumulation of forces for change in Latin America since World War II and, hence, our failure to reshape our attitudes and our policies accordingly during the past dozen years. It is out of this accumulation that the revolution in Cuba was spawned and it is doubtful that that revolution is an isolated phenomenon. The same upheaval may well re-appear in reasonable facsimile in large segments of the region to the south unless action is taken in time by the governments directly involved and by the hemisphere as a whole, to deal resolutely with the social and economic conditions which are the breeding grounds.

What of our responsibilities to ourselves and to the hemisphere in the lights of these vast pressures for change? For anyone who knows the countries to the South and looks to the present and future rather than to the past, I believe it is apparent that change is as desirable as it is inevitable. I do not think acquiescence in unnecessary misery and vicious repression and exploitation find any

echo in the finest traditions of this nation. A determination, elsewhere, in the Americas to dispense with such acquiescence is to be welcomed by this nation. It follows that our relations with the other American states must be aligned with progressive change rather than against it. Further it follows that the institutions of inter-Americanism which we did so much to bring into being should be used to encourage this change by evolutionary means in order to avoid, if possible, the human tragedies which inevitably accompany change by revolution.

I believe our policies in concept accept these premises. In a halting and inadequate fashion, moreover, we have sought to build on these premises. But what is needed, what has been lacking for years has been that dedicated and perceptive initiative in inter-American policy and relations which would breathe new life into the premises and inject new energy into the institutions of inter-American action. As the most powerful and the oldest free nation in this hemisphere, it is our responsibility to ourselves and to the Americas to provide that initiative. I say that in all humility, with the belief that our Latin American neighbors will recognize that it is said without boast but only because it is the obvious reality and it must be said to awaken us to our responsibilities. A new birth of initiative, of leadership, is essential if the irresistible and rapid changes which are already underway in this hemisphere are to redound to the security and welfare of ourselves and

the other American peoples. Unless it is forthcoming, hemispheric solidarity and the institutions through which it is served may both be overwhelmed by opportunistic forces within the Americas in concert with militant intrusions from without.

If we are to reshape the course of inter-American relations in a fashion equal to the present and future needs of the Americas and ourselves as a part of them, it seems to me we must begin to act, as must the Latin Americans, with new insights and a new appreciation of one another. We must act with new policies, pursued by a more effective and dynamic administration of our relations. I know of no way to bring about these necessary changes except by an enlightenment of public understanding of the need and by a responsible leadership, which is able and willing to consider and to act on new ideas.

New Insights

I should like to set forth, at this time, certain specific thoughts on how the present and future needs of inter-American relations may be met, insofar as they can be met by this nation. I need hardly remind the Senate that these relations are two-sided and that regardless of what we do, it will not be enough unless the Latin American nations carry their share.

On the need for new insights:

(1) That the present and the next administration seek the active and intense cooperation of the press, motion-picture industry and other communications-media in a concerted effort to bring up to date the 19th century comprehension of Latin America widely held in this country and the 19th century comprehension of this country still largely held in Latin America.

(2) That the present and the next administration seek the active and intense cooperation of educational institutions in this country to expand rapidly the studies of Latin America and the languages of its republics. Conversely, that wise and liberal use be made of the stagnating local currency accumulations abroad in consultation with Latin American authorities, for a similar expansion of the studies of the United States and the English language in Latin America.

(3) That serious efforts be made to act on various proposals previously advanced looking to the establishment of a University of the Americas in Puerto Rico or some other suitable place, perhaps with faculties located in various American nations and; again, that wise and liberal use be made of accumulating local currencies to this end.

(4) That inter-American exchanges of persons in all the professions be expanded in numbers and in scope and; again, that wise and liberal use of accumulating local currencies be made to this end.

(5) That inter-American tourism be encouraged in every feasible way, particularly through the prompt completion and improvement of the inter-American highway.

(6) That the President-elect make a get-acquainted visit to the other Latin American republics prior to his inauguration in January. Further, assuming that an inter-American plan of development and economic cooperation is devised, that the new President, shortly after his inauguration, invite all the American Presidents to meet in Washington to initial it.

New Policies

On the need for new policies:

I have already mentioned in detail what I believe to be the key changes that are required. I reiterate them now:

(1) Full acceptance in our policies of the inevitability and the desirability of change, change in the direction of an end to unnecessary misery and of repression wherever these conditions may exist in the Americas.

(2) An end to one-sided haphazard aid in the old pattern in favor of a carefully conceived, shared-cost, specific, measurable plan of hemispheric action for development and economic cooperation.

Beyond these key changes, Mr. President, I believe we need a reappraisal of the policies by which this government has sought

to stimulate the flow of private capital into Latin America. We have got to face the fact that Latin Americans do not necessarily always see the ingress of foreign capital as an unmixed blessing, and that such capital is not infrequently one of the primary targets of revolutions in those nations. It seems to me that in the years ahead private capital will perform its greatest service on behalf of its own long-range interests and the total interests of this nation by integrating its foreign investments and operations as rapidly as possible into the other American nations. In short, U. S. private capital should "nationalize" itself, in the sense of immersing itself in the life of the nations in which it operates. If it does so, the constant threat of involuntary nationalization may decline. There are instrumentalities and techniques for achieving this end and some of the most far-sighted United States companies are already putting them into practice in Latin America. They do so by mixing ^{U.S.} capital with local capital, ^(+ their families) by choosing their managers [^] for Latin America on the basis of their suitability to live as well as to work in other nations, by rapid transfer of skills through extensive training programs of local inhabitants and by maximum use of local employees on the basis of equality with its home employees in the management of enterprise. It seems to me that even as this government seeks, as it now does, by its actions and policies which commit us all, to aid U. S. business in Latin America, it must also act to stimulate the incorporation of progressive practices into U. S. business in Latin America since their absence affects us all.

*in the case
of condoning
repression of human
rights in the
Dominican republic*

Mr. President, I have already suggested that the broad and vast interests of this nation in inter-American relations cannot be served by uni-lateral military intervention in the internal affairs of any American nation. Yet I do not believe that the doctrine of non-intervention, as it now stands, is adequate to the present and the future needs of the Americas. There are acts which can be committed by a government which grossly outrage the conscience of the Americas. There are policies which can be pursued by one nation in this hemisphere which gravely jeopardize the security of all the American nations. When these acts occur, when these policies are pursued, the doctrine of non-intervention in my opinion is not adequate to the need. The American nations have already moved and should continue to move in the direction of new concept of hemispheric political cooperation. Call it the Doctrine of Hemispheric Concern if you will. What is implicit in it, however, is the need of the American nations to act in common against any member government which grossly outrages the conscience of the hemisphere by its behavior or actions or which clearly endangers the security of the hemisphere by its policies. To take this step, Mr. President, to modify the doctrine of non-intervention is a most serious matter but these are most serious times. I, for one, am persuaded that the nations of this hemisphere are prepared to take it in their common interest and I am persuaded that, with the

~~proper safeguards in the C.A.S. system, a Doctrine of Hemispheric
Concern will be invoked neither lightly nor inequitably.~~

New Administrative Methods

Finally, Mr. President, I should like to turn to the needs of administration within our own government, in terms of inter-American relations. Regardless of the adequacy of our concepts with respect to these relations, regardless of our willingness to revamp our policies, we are not likely to do what needs to be done, given the present administrative structure for the conduct of these relations. Apart from a serious lack of outstanding citizens, dedicated and skilled in inter-American affairs, we are seeking to act through a creaky, confused and jumbled machinery of administration. In Latin American affairs, as in others, the State Department, under the President, has theoretical responsibility; it is there to blame if things go wrong. But in inter-American affairs, as in others, policies are determined or influenced not only by the President and the Secretary of State, but by various other sources of power in the Executive Branch, from the National Security Council on down, without adequate central control and direction.

The first need in the administration of inter-American affairs is to make certain that policies originate and flow from the President through the Secretary of State and that these policies are carried out by all agencies concerned ~~under~~ State Department and Ambassadorial control. To that end, all bilateral aid activities, all informational and exchange activities with respect to Latin America should be made subject to full and decisive control of the Secretary of State. Further, the United States representatives on the International Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the various U. N. agencies, and all other agencies with a greater or lesser degree of influence on the course of inter-American relations should be fully responsive to the effective guidance of the Secretary of State.

Second, to reinforce this line of authority, it seems to me most desirable that any new funds appropriated by the Congress for economic and related purposes in Latin America should be appropriated to and through the Department of State.

Third, it should be our policy and part of our essential initiative to make every effort to strengthen the O.A.S. and its subordinate agencies, by stimulating common American action through that organization and by encouraging personnel policies which will equip that organization for new and heavier responsibilities.

Mr. President, it is true that any President should have a large measure of discretion in the administrative structure through which he

seeks to conduct the foreign relations of the nation. But Congress which provides for this establishment and influences the nature of it by legislation cannot remain indifferent when that structure gets out of hand, when it tends by its very nature to dissipate and waste the resources of the people by duplication, inadequate coordination and a confusion of responsibility.

It is a truism that men are more important than machinery in effective foreign relations. It may be that the suggestions which I have made which look to the concentration of authority as well as responsibility in inter-American affairs in the Department of State will not act to increase effectiveness. But, if they do not, at least, we shall know where to begin to look for the difficulty and where to make the adjustments. As it is now, the administrative structure defies an honest fixing of responsibility no matter how much the Secretary of State may be held responsible and no matter how often, and often unjustly, he may be berated for the failures.

It would be my hope that the next President will act promptly on this problem. I, for one, as Chairman of the relevant Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee intend to bring this problem to the attention of the Committee and I would welcome an opportunity to cooperate with the Administration on any necessary legislation to deal with it.

Concluding Comments

I do not desire to detain the Senate ^{much} ~~any~~ longer. It is my intention to take up other aspects of the international situation and our policies before

the session closes. My purpose in these remarks today was to bring to the fore the question of inter-American relations as it is interwoven with the Cuban dispute and aid-programs. These questions cannot be sidetracked by either silence or slogans until next January. They will be very much with us in the immediate days ahead. We need to face them now. We need to turn the light of discussion on them now, to the end that we may lay the basis for the kind of action which must come with the next Administration, the kind of action appropriate to these times, the kind of action which will inspire the American Republics ^{together,} ~~to~~ a rededication to the common security and progress of this hemisphere.